

father worked. Because of ideological hysteria, "guilt" by association and rank anti-Semitism, many of our closest friends were dismissed—and, indeed, I feared that this would be my father's fate, particularly because of his announced sympathy for Paul Robeson, a hero to so many black people of his generation.

Later I had the opportunity to attend the so-called Watkins Hearings in the following September in Washington which ultimately led to McCarthy's censure. Ft. Monmouth and the McCarthy-Army hearings demonstrated how excessive government authority can trample upon individual civil liberties—and the aftermath of the Watkins Hearings redeemed our country's constitutional protection of individual rights of belief and association.

Since then, I think that televised Congressional hearings, the Watergate hearings for instance, have contributed to the public understanding about the rule of law and its relationship to the preservation of this Republic's principles. Though, regrettably less conclusive, it may be that the Iran-Contra hearings of 1988 and the Hill-Thomas hearings of October 1991 performed a similar function in that the assumption underlying both proceedings was that government, like private individuals, must adhere unwaveringly to the rule of law.

Again, this is to be contrasted with the spectacle of law as show business on television. In my state of California, the O.J. Simpson trial has treated the nation to an episodic soap opera which appears to be more about the business of the money chase than the real substance of law and the legal profession. As Attorney General Janet Reno said about the trial:

"I'm just amazed at the number of people who are watching it. If we put as much energy into watching the O.J. Simpson trial in America . . . into other issues as Americans seem to have done in watching the trial, we might be further down the road."

A recent Los Angeles Times Mirror poll reported by Peter Jennings last month revealed that only 45 percent of adults surveyed said that they had read a newspaper the previous day, and a quarter of those responding said they spent so much time watching the Simpson trial that they did not have time for the rest of the news. At best, the siren song of sensationalism is a distraction—and, at worst, it reinforces excessively negative perceptions of law and lawyers.

My hope is that many of you will dedicate yourselves as lawyers or in other careers to a concern for the public good. Now, when Oklahoma City has made it clear that the idea of government itself as well as the law is under attack, it is useful to reflect back upon what government, frequently in conjunction with lawyers, has done for us in this century alone in moving toward a more civilized society.

Justice Holmes said, "Taxes are what we pay for civilized society,"—an axiom often forgotten in the politics of the mid-'90's. What would our society look like without the trust busters of Theodore Roosevelt's era and the Federal Reserve System created by Woodrow Wilson? Regulatory approaches to food and drug administration, the securities market, the licensing of radio and television stations, labor-management relations (with which my agency is concerned) and trade practices are all part of the Roosevelt New Deal legacy which few would disavow in toto.

It should not be forgotten that all three branches of federal government took the lead in the fight against racial discrimination and other forms of arbitrary treatment. And as Judge (now Counsel to the President) Abner Mikva has noted: "The history of the growth of the franchise is a shining example of why we needed . . . the federal approach."

Today, the challenge of public service in Washington has never been more exciting or inspirational. As I have indicated, President Clinton's National Public Service echoes anew the similar initiatives undertaken by both Roosevelt and Kennedy.

I urge you to think of the government as a career in which you can use your legal experience in pursuit of the public interest. That does not mean that you have to be a Washington or "inside the Beltway" careerist, although that is another way in which to make a contribution. Many of you may choose to serve in your communities throughout the country and, at a point where your career is well-developed, elect to serve through an appointment such as mine.

In particular, if you accept such an appointment consisting of a limited term (in the case of the Board five years), I hope that you will keep in mind President (then-Senator) Kennedy's characterization of eight law makers who were the subject of his book, "Profiles in Courage." Said the junior Senator from Massachusetts:

"His desire to win or maintain a reputation for integrity and courage were stronger than his desire to maintain his office . . . his conscience, his personal standards of ethics, his integrity or morality . . . were stronger than the pressures of public disapproval."

This is a particularly vexatious problem for those who are appointed and not elected because of the inevitable and appropriate subordination of appointees—even in the arena of independent regulation—to the people's elected representatives. My own view on serving in Washington is to do the very best you can to implement the public interest in the time allocated in your term, with the expectation that you will return to your community, reestablish your roots and feel satisfied that you have—to paraphrase President Kennedy—done your duty notwithstanding some of the immediate "pressures of public disapproval."

While I consider the term limits issue to be an entirely different proposition—the people ought always to be able to freely choose their elected leaders amongst the widest possible number of candidates—my view is that the proper standard for those who are subordinate to such leaders is that attributed to Cincinnatus, the Roman general and statesman of the fifth century, who upon discharging his public duty, returned to his community rather than taking the opportunity to seize power and perpetuate himself in office.

The independence of administrative agencies might be enhanced by legislation limiting Board Members or Commissioners to one term of service. The temptation to please elected superiors might decline accordingly.

Of course, all of us cannot win victories within 15 days, like Cincinnatus, and be back on our farms or in our communities so quickly. But true public service involves a self-sacrifice which rises above the immediate pressures. Do the best that you can to serve the public good.

This does not assure success or complete effectiveness. But it allows you to make use of your acquired expertise for the best possible reasons. And this, in turn, puts you in the best position to see it through to the end with a measure of serenity that comes when you have expended your very best effort despite setbacks and criticisms you may endure in the process.

As President Lincoln said:

"If I were to try to read, much less answer, all the attacks made on me, this shop might as well be closed for any other business. I do the very best I know how—the very best I can and I mean to keep doing so until the

end. If the end brings me out all right, what is said against me won't amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, ten angels swearing I was right would make no difference."

You graduate from a distinguished institution in the most exciting political period since the reforms undertaken by the Administration of the 1960s. I hope that some of you will be attracted to public service and help advance our society through the rule of law.

As you embark upon the excitement of a new career and challenges in the days ahead, I wish you all good luck and success on whatever path you choose.

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MORNING BUSINESS

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Thomas, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

REPORT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA'S PROPOSED FISCAL YEAR 1996 BUDGET—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—PM 59

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; which was referred to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with section 446 of the District of Columbia Self-Government and Governmental Reorganization Act, I am transmitting the District of Columbia's Proposed FY 1995 Second Supplemental Budget and Recissions of Authority Request Act and the Proposed FY 1996 Budget Request Act.

The Proposed FY 1996 Budget has not been reviewed or approved by the District of Columbia Financial Responsibility and Management Assistance Authority, created by Public Law 104-8, the District of Columbia Financial Responsibility and Management Assistance Act of 1995 (the "Act"). It will be subject to such review and approval pursuant to section 208 of the Act.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, June 29, 1995.